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ABSTRACT

The goal of this position paper is to present considerations and alternatives for healthy life directions which can be made available through education to the Native American to enable him to go beyond the present narrow choices of either total assimilation within the white value system or remaining isolated on the reservation. The 3 purposes of schools given are (1) to equip the student with the tools of learning, (2) to open new worlds to the young, and (3) to encourage and enable the young to understand their cultural heritage. In the discussion of mental ability and development, and mental health, it is contended that Indians are simultaneously enculturated and socialized in 2 different ways of life: one being a contemporary form of our traditional life-styles, the other being the mainstream Euro-American culture. These attempts at enculturation and socialization provide an explanation for the failure of Indian students to achieve in an academic environment. Other topics of discussion include "Tribal Control of Indian Education," "Motivational Factors for Education," and "An Economic Development Program for the Reservation." The summary contains an outline of the tasks, their purpose, the anticipated results, and the implementation processes necessary to enhance the educational process for Indian students on a priority basis. (HBC)

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Crisis in Red and White -

An Educational Dilemma

By

Thomas E. Sawyer

"Pitiless indeed are the processes of Time and Creative Thought and Logic; they respect the convenience of none, nor the love of things held sacred; agony attends their course. Yet their work is the increasing glory of a world - the growth of knowledge - the advancement of understanding - the enlargement of human life - the emancipation of man."

Cassius J. Keyser

Position Paper
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PRELUDE

If you were a Native American, an Indian, I mean, the way you are part of the white dominant value system:

One who had come from another state and had lived in an alien culture;

Whose English, whether spoken or written, was not quite correct or non-existant for you had not been to the "right" schools;

An Indian, I mean, who belonged to an uprooted social system, and whose home was nowhere, yet had been everywhere;

One who had been made as chattel of the government, so that you might be fitted to live in the presence of civilization though you are a descendant of the first Americans;

One who neither arrived voluntarily in search of freedom nor was forcibly brought to these shores;

You represent one of many tribes having a multitude of languages and cultures developed entirely in this nation - thus you do not necessarily share the values of European civilization;

One who knew the blight of the reservation but also the misery of the slums of Los Angeles and Minneapolis;

And the failure of the dominant value system to cope with its own cultural identity;

And a new world order being born:

How would you look at the struggle of the Indian people, their aims, their hopes, their means?

An old Indian saying would advise a person to walk in another's moccasins for a period of time, share his value system - his conscience - before judging him. To do so is difficult, but most enlightening. But don't mistake tolerance for understanding. Native Americans have been tolerated for nearly five hundred years - tolerated almost into oblivion. Tolerance is no longer acceptable to Native Americans, as it should not be to any independent, self-governing member or group of a self-governing community.

INTRODUCTION

One of the most remarkable examples of adaptation and accomplishment by any people in the United States is that of the Cherokee Indian tribe. Their record provides evidence of the type of results which insue when Indians truly have the power of self determination: a constitution which provided for courts, representation, jury trials and the right to vote for all tribal members over eighteen years; a system of taxation which supported such services as education and road construction; an educational system which produced a Cherokee population 90% literate in its native language and used bilingual materials to such an extent that Oklahoma Cherokees had a higher English literature level than the white population of either Texas or Arkansas; a system of higher education which, together with the Choctaw Nation, had more than 200 schools and acadamies, and sent many graduates to eastern colleges; publication of the widely read bilingual newspaper. But that was in the 1800's, before the Federal government took control of Cherokee affairs. The record of the Cherokee today is proof of the tragic results of sixty years of white control over their affairs: 90% of the Cherokee families living in Adair County, Oklahoma, are on welfare; 99% of the Choctaw Indian population in McCurtain County, Oklahoma, live below the poverty level; the median number of school years completed by the adult Cherokee population is only 5.5; 40% of adult Cherokees are functionally illiterate; Cherokee dropout rates in public schools are as high as 75%. The level of Cherokee education is well below the average for the state of Oklahoma and below the average for rural and non-whites in the state. The disparity between these two sets of facts provides dramatic testimony to what might have been accomplished if the policy of the Federal government had been one of Indian self-determination. It also points up the disasterous effects of imposed white values.

Cherokee education was truly a development of the tribe itself. In 1821 Sequoyah, a member of the tribe, presented tribal officials with his invention - a Cherokee alphabet. Within six years of that date Cherokees were publishing their own bilingual newspapers and the Cherokee nation was on its way toward the end of illiteracy and the beginning of a model of self-government and self-education.

The Cherokee education system itself was just as exemplary as its governmental system. Using funds primarily received from the Federal government as a result of ceding large tracts of land, a school system described by many as "the finest school system west of the Mississippi" soon developed. Treaty money was used by Sequoyah to develop the Cherokee alphabet, as well as to purchase a printing press. In a period of several years the Cherokee had established remarkable achievement at

literary levels. But in 1903 the Federal government appointed a superintendent to take control of Cherokee education. When Oklahoma became a state in 1906 and the whole system was abolished, Cherokee educational performance began its decline.

Authorities who have analyzed this decline concur on one point: the Cherokees were alienated from the white man's school. Willard Walker simply stated that "The Cherokees have used the school as a white man's institution over which parents have no control". Dr. Jack Forbes of the Far West Regional Laboratory said that the Federal and State schools operated for the Cherokee have had negative impact because of little, if any, parent-community involvement. Several researchers have also commented upon the lack of bilingual material in the schools, and the ensuing feeling by Cherokees that reading English is associated with coersive instruction.

While I have thus far spoken of statistics related only to the Cherokee nation, I am certain that similar data are available on other tribes and would provide the same indications. In general it can be stated that the coersive assimilation policy that has been practiced by the Federal government towards the American Indian have had disastrous effects on the education of Indian children. It has resulted in: the classroom and the school becoming a type of battleground where the Indian child attempts to protect his integrity and identity as an individual by defeating the purposes of the school; schools which fail to understand or adapt to and in fact often denigrate, cultural differences; schools which blame their failures on the Indian student and reinforce his defensiveness; schools which fail to recognize the importance and validity of the Indian community. The community and child retaliate by treating the schools as an alien institution resulting in a dismal record of absenteeism, dropouts, negative self image, low achievement; and ultimately, academic failure for many Indian children, and a perpetuation of the cycle of poverty which undermines the success of most other Federal programs. This coersive assimilation policy has two primary historical roots: a continuous desire to exploit and expropriate Indian land and resources, and a self rightous intolerance of tribal communities and cultural differences.

At the heart of the matter, educationally at least, is the relationship between the Indian community and the public school, and the general powerlessness the Indian feels in regard to the education of his children. A report by the Carnegie Foundation described the relationship between white people, especially the white power structure, and Indians as "one of the most crucial problems in the education of Inidan children". The report continues: "this relationship frequently demeans Indians, destroys their self respect and self confidence,

developes and encourages apathy and a sense of alienation from the educational process, and deprives them of an opportunity to develop the ability and experience to control their own affairs through participation in effective local governments".

Further definitions of the education related problems among Indians is not justified. Many of you, perhaps all of you, have been involved in this educational crisis for some time. I would simply add a quote from Abraham Lincoln, "The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present - let us disenthrall ourselves."

The goal of my presentation is to present considerations and alternatives for healthy life directions which can be made available through education, to the Native American to enable him to go beyond the present narrow choices of either total assimilation within the white value system or remaining isolated on the reservation. In accomplishing this goal it is necessary to address both Native Americans and the white society. My address will, I hope, offend and anger both groups, for it is impossible to tell the truth about Indian education without offending and angering members of both groups. We are all too accustomed to the veil of half truths which cloak this subject. For hundreds of years white America has clung to the ideal that if everyone would be patient time alone would solve the Indian problem. It hasn't, and it never will. For time, as Martin Luther King points out, is neither good nor bad; it is neutral. What matters is how time is used. Time has been used badly in the United States. We often hear that something must be done and soon about the Indian problem. But do what? The prescription to "do something" appeals to the pragmatic bent of most Americans. But sheer busy-ness is not enough. Solving the problem of Indian education is not only one of the most urgent pieces of public business facing the United States today; it is also one of the most difficult. In approaching it, public officials and leaders would do well to ponder the traditional warning of mathematicians: don't worry so much about getting the right answer; what counts most is setting up the right problem.

PURPOSE OF SCHOOLS

The first object of any Indian school must be to equip the students with the tools of learning. These tools are basically reading, writing, arithmetic, speaking and listening. With these tools at their command the Indian student can learn all his life.

The second object of an Indian school - and this is especially vital to a bicultural democratic community such as the tribe - should be to open new worlds to the young, to get them out of the rut of the place and time in which they were born. Whatever the charms of the tribal culture, whatever the allure of the present, emphasis upon the immediate environment and its current condition must narrow the mind and prevent understanding of the broader community and any meaningful comprehension of the present. Hence those well meaning individuals who would center education on the interests of children and their immediate surroundings, though they may seem up-to-date, are going contrary to the demands contemporary society, both within and around the tribal grouping, is making upon any educational system. Sitting Bull foresaw this when he stated, "I have advised my people this way: when you find something good in the white man's road, pick it up. When you find something that is bad, or turns out bad, drop it and leave it alone!"

The third object of any educational institution for Indians must be to get the young to understand their cultural heritage. This, too, is in the interest of the individual and the community. The individual ought to see himself in the tribal community, a community having a tradition, which can be accepted or rejected, but not unless it is first understood. Comprehension of the educational heritage is the means by which the bonds uniting the tribal community are strengthened. The school, properly oriented, should then be the agency for discharging this obligation. Its performance cannot be left to chance.

John Stuart Mill once said: "Education makes a man a more intelligent shoemaker, if that be his occupation, but not by teaching him how to make shoes; it does so by the mental exercise it gives and the habits it impresses." The advance of technology makes this observation even more pertinent than it was a hundred years ago, and in two ways. In the first place, technology remorselessly simplifies or eliminates skill requirements. No doubt in a cybernated society the need for technical training and retraining will exist, but it will exist for a declining proportion of the work force, and the work force will be a declining proportion of the population.

In the second place, as technology decreases the demand for skilled labor, or labor of any kind, it increases the demand for intelligent citizens. It puts constant stress on our democratic society, presenting it with new problems each day. Experience has taught us one thing. Experience alone won't keep a society from bankruptcy. New ideas, flexibility, and a capacity for apprehending principles is vital.

To define a purpose for education we must know what we as a people want in general; we derive our theory of education from our philosophy of life. Education, to be effective, must be intimately related to family and tribal goals and value systems. The medieval concern for certification is not sufficient to sustain education and learning.

An exciting example of this concept is provided by the experimental school at Rough Rock, Arizona. Instruction in Navaho language and culture is part of the curriculum, and the school itself is supervised by an all-Navaho school board. The newly organized Inidan college, the Navaho Junior College at Many Farms, is also gearing its curriculum to the special needs of Indian students. These are among the first tribal-run schools since the Choctaw and Cherokee ran their own school systems during the latter half of the 1800's.

The purpose of the educational process is the crucial question for students, parents, educators and employers. This purpose is not accomplished by making schools free, universal and compulsory. Schools are public because they are dedicated to increasing the growth of knowledge, the advancement of understanding, the enlargement of human life, and the emancipation of man. The rate and method of education may and should vary. But schools are not public unless they provide an understanding of the priority concerns of the community being served.

MENTAL ABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT, AND MENTAL HEALTH

Many researchers, representing a variety of disciplines, i.e., anthropologists, psychologists, and sociologists, have studied and written about the failure of Indian students to achieve in an academic environment. Some contend that a psychological-deficit model or normative approach to Indian students rules educational theory and practice, thus perpetuating destructive institutional policies. Others hold that a cultural-difference model or a relativistic anthropological approach should be fostered because it is scientifically more adequate and will produce more constructive results.

My psychological training and experience, plus more than a passing acquaintance with the anthropological and sociological literature on Indians, convinces me that the deficit theory is undemonstrated. Any theory of ethnic deficits of biological origin is quite untestable in an ethnically plural and structurally discriminatory society, such as we have in the U.S. The necessary separation of biological and socio-cultural factors is impossible in our environment. A simple model of cultural difference is inadequate to explain the cultural dynamics of the heterogeneous Indian community. The notion of a single homogeneous "Indian culture", which is conveyed by the difference model is also pseudo-scientific nonsense. Both the "deficit" and "difference" models neglect and obscure the important concept of "biculturation". Steven Palgar reported in the "American Anthropologist" that Indians living on reservations regularly go through a process which he termed "biculturation". That is, Indians are simultaneously enculturated and socialized in two different ways of life; one being a contemporary form of our traditional life-styles, the other being the mainstream Euro-American culture.

As a key concept for making sense out of ethnicity and related matters, biculturation has strong appeals. The collective behavior and social life of most Indian communities is bicultural in the sense that each tribe adopts some forms of group behavior from the dominant cultural system of the Euro-Americans. Socialization into both systems begins at an early age, continues throughout life, and is generally about equal in most individual Indian lives. This enculturation in dominant culture patterns is brought about by the mass media, the experience of public schooling, exposure to national fashions, holidays and heroes. Other specialized institutional forms of enculturation are experienced by the Indian community including the welfare system, the police-court-prison complex, anti-

poverty programs, and employment in the dominant society's economic structure.

While the present attitudes and policies of the institutions interfacing with the tribes is no longer characterized by subjugation and deliberate attempts to destroy the diverse Indian cultures, at least not by force or missionary zeal, education and employment require the biculturation of students or employees to participate successfully in either endeavor. Most school teachers and other educational specialists working with Indian students have well-established cognitive and affective sets into which the concept of cultural difference fits perfectly. Unfortunately, this perceived consistency reinforces a complex of attitudes and practices which are detrimental to Indian students, regardless of the intentions of such teachers. Highly standardized feelings about reservation children and their families include such explicit beliefs as Indians are culturally different, these cultural differences impede learning, that schools should eliminate these differences, but educators cannot succeed because the students are psychologically deficient as a result of their cultural difference. So the educators rationalize the student failure by circular reasoning blaming the students and parents. Thus if we continue to permit the subtle rationalizations of either the deficit or difference models to continue, they will be applied to the serious detriment of Native-American people both young and old. In this regard I must agree wholeheartedly with Vine Deloria's analysis, "Indians have been cursed above all people. Indians have anthropologists."

The performance of Indian children on intelligence tests has been quite well documented. Mean differences between children of high and low socio-economic status have been found consistently when measures of intelligence are administered - not just among Indian youth. These differences are unequivocally present at age four. With increases in children's ages, such intelligence test differences tend to increase. Thus, there are larger mean differences in intelligence between low and high socio-economic status children, in general, in adolescence than in the early years of school. This effect and the evidence to support it has been carefully determined by a number of researchers (Bloom, Hunt, Silverman, Gordon, Karp and Sigel, and Coleman).

A beneficial side effect of this research should also be mentioned; both the belief in fixed intelligence and the notion of ridding intelligence measurements of cultural contamination have been abandoned. Now, rather than rejecting cultural effects as contaminants, they are taken into account in test construction and prediction. Perhaps the most important outgrowth of this

work has been the changed conception of intelligence. Few qualified researchers will now maintain that intelligence tests measure something innate, fixed, and predetermined. The validity of intelligence tests for predicting school achievement leaves little room for doubt, but the aptitude versus achievement distinction has been diluted significantly. Intelligence tests must now be thought of as samples of learning based on general experiences.

The types of achievement and intelligence tests which are most often used with Indian students can have only limited value in describing their cognitive functioning. In almost all testing, the concern is for an answer, not the ways in which a student arrived at a conclusion. No amount of analysis of scores on such psychometric procedures will reveal cognitive data, unless tests are deliberately constructed to reveal the reasoning processes. Piaget's theories of cognitive development have been incorporated into the testing procedures developed by Smedslund, Laurendeau, and the Educational Testing Service's new series "Let's Look at First Graders". Future testing of Indian students should include cognitive aspects.

As Indian children proceed through school, they continue to perform below the national average at all grade levels on all measures. The relative standing of Indians in relation to the white population remains essentially constant in terms of standard deviations, but the absolute differences in terms of grade-level discrepancies increase. This increase in the number of grade levels behind the normative population is commonly referred to as the "cumulative deficit".

The story of educational disadvantage for Indian students which emerges from examination of achievement data is a clear indication of the failure of the school systems serving them. When intelligence test data and early achievement data are combined, a predictor's paradise is evident, but an abysmal prognosis for most Indian students. At the very least, this ability to predict school failure should be better utilized by the schools in an effort to remedy the situation. Arlene Payne's "Early Prediction of Achievement" demonstrates that by the end of grade one, over one-half of the students who will be failing in arithmetic in grade six can be identified on the basis of socio-economic data, intelligence test scores, and an arithmetic achievement test. By the end of grade two, two-thirds of the failing children could be identified. This provides the schools with individual children for whom the usual curriculum will surely fail. It most importantly provides five years of lead time to remedy the situation.

Most teachers want to teach effectively and to see their students learn. I do not believe the cumulative deficit in the achievement of Indian students reflects any willful or determined attempts on the part of individual teachers to keep their students down. Nor do I think it reflects laziness. The most penurious assumption would be that teachers are not effective and Indian students are not learning at an adequate rate because techniques have not been devised which can produce the desired learning outcomes in many Indian students.

What can be done to change this situation? The two obvious components that must be considered are the curriculum and the students. Then an analysis must be made of the process that goes on in a teacher's mind. The teacher by some mental process must determine the objective of the students achievement and a sequence to accomplish such learning. The teacher concomitantly determines the students' readiness in terms of prior achievement and behavior, and devises an instructional strategy to match student and curricular. It is in this important process that the teacher must not be biased by any internalized feelings of Indian culture deficits.

The suggested program would be tedious. A large-scale curriculum analyses would be necessary. Once such analyses were completed, an even more complex effort would be required for development of diagnostic methods which could be effectively used by teachers. Once this effort is underway, however, it would help provide understanding of the conditions of learning which are appropriate for Indian children who are predicted to fail in the basic communication skills of the white society. Therefore, while the task would be difficult, the results could easily justify the effort.

A great deal has been made of the lack of emotional well being and good self-image among Indian students. This point is emphasized by pointing to the high suicide rate among Indians. The report of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education contains many details of suicide among Indian youth, and a number of comments therein imply that these facts demonstrate a condition of social pathology and poor mental health. Robert J. Havinghurst and Estelle Fuchs, on the other hand, present data which compares Indian and non-Indian suicide rates with practically no total difference indicated, although they do report significant differences with respect to age and sex. The latter data was obtained in years 1959 through 1966 and for Indians revealed average suicide rate of 11 per 100,000 population. Data which I obtained from the National Institute of Mental Health for the three year period 1968, 1969 and

1971 for American and Alaskan Indians revealed a rate of 15.6 per 100,000. The age specific suicide death rate for the age group 10 - 34 for the same Indian population is three times the U.S. all-races rate for the same age group. This latter statement confirms Havinghurst and Fuchs' findings for the period 1959 through 1966.

An analysis of these data provide some interesting points of information: (1) Indian women have less than one-half the suicide rate of white women, (2) Indian males between ages 10 and 44 have a suicide rate at least three times that of white males, and (3) the rate of suicide among Indians appears to be increasing significantly (from less than an average of 11 per 100,000 for years 1959, 1960 and 1961 to an average of 15.6 per 100,000 for years 1968, 1969 and 1971). The continued high rate for school aged Indian males, over three times the white male average for this same age group, over a twenty year period mitigates against Havinghurst and Fuchs' contention that the history of suicide among the young points to a kind of contagious suicide by epidemic.

Another factor which is of concern regarding the mental health of Indian students is reported by the Statistics Division of the Indian Health Section of the National Institute of Mental Health. Anxiety, hostility and aggression levels of boarding school students are reported to be significantly higher than day school students. Dr. H. Saslow, professor of psychology at New Mexico University, reported that the average student at the Albuquerque Boarding School progressed, in terms of achievement, only one-half grade during his entire four years of high school. With an increasing number of students at boarding school being "social referrals" (over 25 percent in 1969), the need for an improved mental health research program is evident.

I do not present this information as a condemnation of our Indian heritage in support of any theory of ethnic deficits of biological origin nor to support the tenants of the difference model. But the relatively high suicide rate among student-age Indian men should be taken as a symptom of a significant problem of societal adjustment. It is clear that many people who are imbued with an especially strong sense of independent responsibility (as Indians we pride ourselves in this character trait) have great difficulty in seeking or accepting <u>support</u> from others outside our immediate group. For some, this is reminiscent of a profoundly unpleasant sense of helplessness from an earlier phase of life; for some it is an unacceptable admission of weakness, of inadequacy; for some it is a contradiction of one's sense of strength and commitment to

help others. Ironically, those whose life leads to increasing responsibility for others must provide increasing support for others at a time when they are themselves more isolated, less able to ask for personal help, and less able to receive it when offered. Greater responsibility generates greater personal need concurrent with greater obstacles to receiving it.

Indians have a tradition of courage to face hardships and deprivation. All too often, though, we are our own worst enemies, in that we have difficulty summoning the courage to look at ourselves honestly and fairly. It is this courage which enables us to face, to articulate, and finally accept our disappointments and losses - one of the most difficult tasks the human psyche faces. This is not so apparent until one stops to realize that life is a succession of losses - the loss of warmth and comfort of the uterus which nurtured us into this life; childhood losses of the infant status, childhood toys; the loss of irresponsible pleasures of youth with the advent of maturity; the loss of jobs, self-esteem, opportunity; and finally the passage to the next life. These experiences have profound effects on our mental health. Even as losses vary in their impact on us, our psyche varies in its capacity to cope with them, and not all do it with equal success.

While there is a statistically significant difference between the suicide rate of Indians and non-Indians, the only reason for reviewing the information is to bring about an answer as to why there should be any suicides at all. The fact that there are does not reflect any inherent weakness in Indian biological origin, culture or development. It does represent a need to determine the cause - the type of chaotic and unstable environment that brings about such total despair.

That Indian mental health is good is evidenced by the shattering of the myths regarding the vanishing and silent Indian image. Active participation and organization by American Indians themselves are growing in such groups as the National Congress of American Indians, National Tribal Chairmen's Association, and the proliferating groups of "Red Power" advocates such as the American Indians for Movement (AIM). Indians are refusing to accept their loss of identity in a common "melting pot". These are not the actions of a group with a collective poor self esteem.

Democracy is the best form of government precisely because it calls upon individual citizens to be self-governing and to take part in the self-governing political community. The individual cannot become a meaningful human being

without a democratic political community; and the democratic political community cannot be maintained without independent citizens and groups of citizens who are qualified to govern themselves and others through the democratic political process. Indians have now accepted the challenge to confront those institutions which affect the interests of their people, their culture, and their environment. This, to me, represents good mental health.

TRIBAL CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION

Political scientists and sociologists study those who have power, but tend to ignore the powerless. Decision making is examined, but decision inability is not exposed. An elite power structure is rationalized as pluralism, and the relevance of community participation by Indian groups in the political (democratic) process is depreciated.

The Indian communities have recently exposed the coersive political system and challenged its denial of their demands for a "piece of the action". In struggling with the state and Federal political structures which combine two oppresive elements - bureaucratic centralization and specialization, and professionalism - tribal leaders are necessarily concerned with building a restructured participatory system. If suitable channels for tribal participation are not found, the bureaucratic school system may be in increasing difficulty. The school system in many ways reflects the larger tribal problems in microcosm. There are those who suggest that educational institutions cannot correct difficulties that reflect larger social problems. When educators rejected George Counts pleas in the 1930's for utilizing education as a vehicle for social change, they separated the school system from social needs for 30 years. It should by now be evident that educational systems must be a vital component to constructive adjustment of democratic institutions if we are to meet the changing needs of the tribal societies.

The education systems serving on or near reservations are failing. Their failure is political as well as educational. The educational failure is relatively easy to document. Hard data in test scores, dropout rates, and the number of academic diplomas produced have demonstrated the character of that failure. Rationales developed to relate the causes to the problems of a reservation community, while they may be in part valid, do not in any way negate the responsibility of the school system to educate. The inability of the school professionals to cope with this problem must still be labeled an educational failure. The political failure of the school system cannot be measured quantitatively except in the sense that educational failings can be traced to the environment of the total system. The political failure is fundamental. It is characterized by the development of a political subsystem whose policy process is wholly controlled by a small professional group in Washington headquarters. The policies which emerge support an educational

establishment that maintains acceptance of a status quo orientation in all areas of Indian education policy.

The lack of innovation in Indian school systems, except as periodically stimulated by outside funding, is indicative of such orientation. During the past sixty years, Indian school systems experienced a degree of professionalization combined with extensive centralization of the educational bureaucracy. In the B.I.A. an inbred bureaucratic supervisory staff sits at headquarters holding a rein on educational policy. Their vested interests are clear. Any major shift in educational policy might well challenge their control of the system. How can the Indian communities be assured of quality education and a participatory role in the system?

To be effective, reform must first encourage a meaningful parental and tribal/community role in the schools. Although the immediate impetus toward community control arises from the frustrations of the tribe, it is only the latest stage in the developing concept of education as a governmental responsibility and of public education as essentially a community-governed enterprise - an idea deeply rooted in American traditions. Parental and community participation in the schools declined generally as the professionalization of teaching advanced and public school systems grew in size. Today's movement among communities in general and Indian tribes in particular seeks to renew the role of the "neighborhood" in education.

Those who control the schools have been unable to produce results, they have excluded the Indian community from a role in the policy process. The structure must be adjusted to give the community effective control over educational institutions serving the Indian population. Participation in itself provides an involvement with the system which can reduce alienation and serve to stimulate educational change. This role for the Indian community is not conceived as an abandonment of professionalism, but rather an effort to achieve a balance between professionalism and public participation in the policy process. Community control implies a redistribution and sharing of power within the educational system. It is directed toward achieving a mechanism for participatory democracy and attempts to answer the political failure in educational systems serving reservations. As for educational failure, community control is intended to create an environment in which more meaningful educational policies can be developed and a variety of alternatives and techniques be evaluated. It seems self-evident that a school system attuned

to reservation needs, which serves as an agent of the community interests, will provide a more conducive environment in which students can learn.

Verbal support for tribal participation has come from the educational establishment within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the professionals. The fact is, however, that their idea of tribal/community participation is more of the traditional Parent-Teachers Association concept and has little or nothing to do with tribal control of decision making. Tribal control of the schools must involve local control over key policy decisions in four major areas: personnel, budget, curriculum, and public policy. Local school boards must be locally selected and mechanisms for encouraging broad tribal participation must be thoughtfully developed.

The creation of a locally elected school board with substantial power is not enough to ensure tribal participation and control. Fulfillment of the tribal school ideal also calls for the development of procedures to ensure that parents of school students will be deeply involved in school affairs. Local boards must develop procedures to encourage tribal groups to express their views regularly and to play a meaningful part in the making of policy.

Properly instituted, tribal control can be an instrument of social change. The redistribution of power is in itself an aspect of that change. If adequate provision is made by H.E.W. and the B.I.A. for the technical assistance to the tribes to carry out this new role, tribal control has the potential for providing new insights into the concept of professionalism as well as the general theories of educational expertise. If the tribal school boards, in conjunction with tribal leaders, have the resources to hire a variety of talent in the policy process, many institutional changes can be expected. Although demonstration projects in the past have suffered from an almost total lack of delegated power and technical resources, they have already proven that tribal/community involvement can and does expand the scope of professional and tribal participation. Again, any plan to be successful must meet the test of redistributing power in the system by providing for local selection of the members of tribal school boards, and tribal control of the budget, student policy, curriculum, and personnel. Such tribal control would also allow the utilization of positive factors and rich resources available in the community to motivate Indian children regarding education.

The arguments against tribal control tend to focus on two concerns - the parochialism which might result from reservation control of the schools and the lack of qualifications of community people and their inability to cope with the highly technical problems in education. The concern with the dangers of parochialism usually relates to the fears of the emergence of red racism or separatism. The concern with red racism is more often a misinterpretation of the sense of greater identity or a lack of understanding of the desire to increase the number of Indian teachers and administrators in tribal schools.

Local rivalries and some ethnic conflicts may occur at public (non-B.I.A. schools) schools serving nearby reservations as Indian representation increases, and should be anticipated. However, the ability to deal with and resolve or compromise these conflicts locally will be an important part of the process. Conflict should not necessarily be viewed as dangerous; rather, it may stimulate increased public and group participation in the affairs of the combined communities. The advantages to be gained from encouraging Indian identity and conscientiousness should well outweigh any negative aspects of parochialism. Empirical evidence demonstrates that participation and involvement increase when group identity is stronger. The group-identity factor probably supersedes socioeconomic status and ethnic background as an influence on the kind and extent of community participation.

Participation should be thought of in two general categories: first, an involvement as reflected in attendance at meetings or voting opportunities; and, second, as direct engagement in the policy-making process and the exercise of political power. The latter experience will provide the basis for testing the effect of tribal control as a mechanism for achieving social and institutional change in the educational system. Serious opposition to tribal control can be anticipated due to a lack of confidence in the ability of tribal representatives to make decisions that require some technical competence. A corollary to this position is the concern that tribal/community control negates professionalism. This is obviously not true because the tribal representatives who make decisions must still rely on the professionals to some extent for inputs into the policy process. In fact, technical assistance must be made available to the tribal school boards and must be integral to any plan for tribal control, if local boards are to be successful.

Because almost two-thirds of all Indian students attend public schools near reservations, consideration must be given to obtaining a voice in the decision making processes of these institutions. The Constitution of the

United States contemplates government by discussion, with all citizens participating in it. The motion toward this goal often appears slow and erratic, but it is not trivial or irrelevent. The rule of one-man, one-vote and the extension of the franchise to eighteen-year-olds are steps in this direction; toward an inclusive community based on the equality of all the people in it, all of whom are taking part in the consideration of public affairs.

Nothing in these tendencies excludes such values as "cultural pluralism" has to offer. But cultural segregation is another matter. The principle of subsidiarity, which is a good rule leading to decentralization, holds that small groups should so far as possible have control over their own affairs and have the right to be heard on matters that concern them. This is not to say however that the interests of the larger political community, and in particular the standards established by the Bill of Rights, can be ignored or thought not applicable to sub-community groups such as the tribes.

Integration - living readily and comfortably with differences but keeping one's own values, one's own integrity - is clearly the hallmark of an effective education for our times. But it is not limited to race or class. It has to do with the range of American diversity and the diversity within each of us.

It is not necessary for the members of a political community - a local school district - to agree with one another. The First Amendment assumes Americans in fact will not. But it is necessary that the various members understand one another. The aim is twofold, unity and diversity, an aim reflected in John Stuart Mill's argument for public education in his essay, "On Liberty".

In striving to obtain a voice or control of a local school board, where Indian population would so indicate, Indians must remember that while we should pursue our own interests, decisions which would promote cultural, social, and economic segregation, and lead to the kind of individualism Tocqueville saw as a danger to democracy, must be avoided.

Indians have a concern for more than anything else the pressure toward conformity that has been and, to some extent, is now being exerted on them by the dominant white society. The Indian concerns are justified: the memory of the conscious effort on the part of the Federal government and religious groups to totally assimilate them are fresh in their minds. But the needs of the larger community cannot be ignored without encountering the extremes of individualism that Tocqueville describes. The doctrine of every man for

himself, or every group for itself, loses its viability in an interdependent nation such as ours.

On balance, if we as Indians have to choose between an education that expands our individuality and one that draws our our humanity, we should prefer the latter. Fortunately, we do not have to choose in such a limited manner. We must understand and rely on our humanity if we are to survive in any condition worthy to be called Indian in the tradition of our fathers.

In order to enlist the interest and support of non-Indian members of local school boards providing education to reservation and urban Indian students, an orientation program should be developed. School board members bring to the board varying levels of skills, abilities, and awareness of Indian culture. Any training period involved in the orientation program will, of necessity, be too short to provide lasting "answers" to cross-cultural problems. The orientation can be most effective if it develops a desire on the part of the non-Indian members for culture-bridging, communication, and discovery. The non-Indian board members who develop such an attitude toward our culture will gain perhaps the major asset we can give them, insight.

The training or orientation to be offered should present no lectures and have no large amount of information to be "learned". Rather, it should place the board members in an exciting environment on the reservation in which to gain first hand knowledge of our culture, and require that they become teacher as well as learner. The process should be a combination of training and exposure to real world situations on the reservation. Such a process places the board members in a situation where they are constantly exercising their culture-bridging skills and adapting their personal manner to the situations they encounter.

We cannot coerce non-Indian members of local school boards to accept our Indian culture. The orientation should therefore adapt the familiar scientific method: experiment, hypothesize, test. Experience, discover, formulate, create; these should be the stages recurring in cycles of the orientation. Plan no lectures on Indian philosophy. Rahter let the non-Indians formulate "their" own Indian philosophy. Plan no lectures on Indian culture. Rather they should experience and discover the Indian culture. Plan no lectures on "the non-Indian school board member role". Rather the member should formulate and experiment with a variety of roles in which he feels comfortable. No learned dissertations need be given on "the helping relationship". The non-Indian members will formulate

their own concepts of effective helping relationships. As a result of the creativity this approach may be expected to release, this "orientation" may well enrich the total cultural understanding. In essence, the school board member can serve as a communications-link between the Indian communities and the dominant white society.

There is much to be gained by adding the dimension of tribal nonprofessional experience and expertise to the educational process. In many ways the parents of students, particularly in folk cultures, have insights into needs and values which can contribute significantly to a more viable, relevant educational program. A broader concept of education, one that goes beyond the classroom walls and extends into the reservation community as a whole, can gain particularly from such experience.

MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS FOR EDUCATION

Who at some time has not yearned to possess unlimited wealth? Money enough to satisfy all desires, money to make every fanciful whim a reality. Money, money everywhere. It is the great American fantasy. The national model for the white dominant society, and perhaps the Blacks and Chicanos, for personal success undeniably is based on the acquisition of money.

The Indian culture has not yet reached a point where self-esteem, personal identity, and/or role-images require the constant pursuit of money. Hence, money, per se, does not motivate as in other cultures.

Almost nothing in Indian experience supports the widely held idea that by looking at what a person has done in school you can predict what that person will accomplish outside of school. Yet many, if not most, of today's white dominant society seem to assume that being good in school, being able to remember what a teacher or book says, being able to please the teacher, means that in life you will be good at almost everything. Indians will object that in our culture it takes more than these trivial skills to succeed in life.

Nobody who has attended an American public school will deny that it is afflicted with boredom, authoritarianism, bureaucracy, inefficiency, and ineffectiveness. It always has been. But it is now more expensive and includes a higher proportion of the population than ever before. This is particularly true among Indian populations. Success in school and getting credentials to prove it have been thought to be indispensable to social mobility; and now we have discovered that the school, contrary to our expectations, does not provide it. We have learned that socio-economic status and family attitudes and background impose constraints upon students that the school seems powerless to overcome. Evidence of another, but no less disturbing, kind has been piling up that the whole idea of getting a better job by getting more credentials may be absurd.

If educational credentials turn out to confer no benefit on the individual who acquires them, and none of the firms that employ those who hold them, the question arises whether schooling confers any practical benefits at all, and, if it does not, why the costly and elaborate system should be maintained as it currently exists. If your motivation for going to school was to get ahead, and you did not get ahead, why should you have gone? Why should you expect others to go?

Adam Smith's and John Stuart Mill's concern with the development of the individual as a human being, saved from ignorance and torpor, able to conduct a rational conversation, conceive elevating sentiments, form just judgements, and use his mind has passed through various stages of degredation for the Indian until nothing is left but an exhortation to acquire a piece of paper, however meaningless, the powers of which as a passport to a better future seem to be declining from a doubtful status at best for Indians anyway. Insofar as the schools have fostered the impression that years of schooling confer economic advantage, the schools should now expect to suffer from the rage and disappointment of those who put in the years without reaping the promised advantage.

A large, elaborate, expensive institution on which the Indian students and parents have pinned their hopes cannot hope to escape criticism unless it can prove that it has intelligible purposes and that it is achieving them. The educational system provided for Indians cannot make the required demonstration. This is not altogether the fault of the schools. The failure of the educational philosophy reflects the failure of the Federal government philosophy toward Indians in general. It is not the schools that make their purposes, but the people who control them. For example, credentialism is not the fault of the schools but of parents and employers.

If we turn to our common experiences in search of clues to motivation, we find that the interests of childhood are elusive and evanescent, that many students abandon interests once held very strong and dedicate their talents and indeed their lives to efforts formerly unattractive to them. What students "ought to learn", if we may assume there is a curriculum answering to this description for Indians, cannot be wholly determined by their interests in it at any given time. What they ought to learn should be made as interesting as possible, but teaching would seem to consist in large measure of making this process interesting to learners who bring little interest with them to the task.

Lest I be misunderstood, I must state that we should not continue with our preoccupation of correcting the "deficiencies" of students without regard for the talents and interests they bring with them. Higher education need not mean higher and higher levels of abstraction; it might well mean higher standards of performance. In any event, to increase motivation of Indian students any new educational purpose must be based on beginning with where the student is and helping him move toward the development of his abilities. Quality education for our children in the future must be measured in terms of value added by the educational process.

The old technique of selective admissions to find the most promising young people and to only educate them for roles of leadership in the dominant white society cannot be accepted by today's Indian students. Even if schools could find out which young people were more able than others, more likely to do well at this work or that later in their lives, they ought not to do so. If we turn our schools into a kind of cream separator, if we accept the role of schools as a process of finding and training an elite cadre, if education becomes highly competitive for Indian students, with winners and losers, as in all competition we will have more losers than winners. The main problem is that when you call someone a loser and treat him like a loser, he thinks like a loser and acts like a loser. When this happens, the chance of doing much more learning and developing his full potential are lost - his motivation is gone. The student is likely to put an increasing amount of his energy into protecting himself against an academic world that seems to reject him.

Recognizing that the competitive school system which does exist has been defeating many, if not most, of our Indian students, we need to change our philosophy to preclude losers. Classes and indeed the entire school can be transformed into an environment where the entire class assumes responsibility for each of its members, mastering items in the curriculum as they come up. While a few examples are not a proof, recent books - one originating in Italy, the other in the United States - relate the success of such an approach. The Italian book, "Letter to a Teacher", published by Radnom House in 1972, and the American experience, a report by Riessman, et al., "Children Teach Children", published by Harper and Row in 1972, report a considerable increase in the performance of the tutored and tutoring students. But what is most notable in the information presented by these volumes is the increase in morale, motivation, self-worth and class pride. Schooling appears to take on a new and meaningful significance. In the past - indeed even today it prevails - school years have been a time of great friendship, but there was very little organized cooperative activity about the period. Most joint efforts are "extracurricular", being social, political, or artistic in nature. In fact too strong an effort on behalf of the performance of a fellow student can be and has been interpreted as cheating. There is in fact a built-in anomaly in the conduct of our schools. We require our students to compete in their studies, yet we urge upon them the utmost cooperativeness in other forms of life's activities. I would strongly urge, knowing full well the administrative complexities involved, that our Indian schools use the system of student-assisted

learning, that we test achievement outside of the context of school, and that we treat the process of mastering our Indian heritage and culture as a communal effort.

Another motivational problem of educating our young on or off the reservation is that of a rate of change that goes faster than the usual transmission of the culture from one generation to the next. An isolation developes between the young and the older generation when adult role models fail. A gap is created not only between generations but in the needs of the young. Especially among our Indian youth one can make a strong case for attachment, observation and demonstration as a unique triad of processes used in mastering the necessary skills of the adult world. Thus any successful educational process for Indian youth will need to consider these factors.

I have mentioned earlier in this section that the failure of the educational philosophy reflects an overall philosophical failure of these times. In this incredibly complex world, each of us - non-Indian as well as Indian - needs to examine ourselves to identify our goals, our motivations. As a search for a better idea of what we stand for, toward what we are headed, and what we think is truly important to be conveyed to our youth, we must indulge in a critical self-scrutiny to help stabilize the environment for ourselves and our youth in the rapidly changing world. A close look at ourselves can contribute to that much sought-after capacity of autonomy of self and culture for our heritage, and gives us greater ability to make wise and useful choices in adopting the skills of the dominant society, to exert control over our own destiny.

It is never easy for any people to look closely at themselves, particularly when they are surrounded by a foreign culture. Most do so only when forced by crisis, anxiety, or a blunt confrontation with reality. For us who are Indian the time to take a hard look at ourselves and give direction to our "public" image is now. How are we to go about this? How do we ensure that the education system for our children keeps pace with the rate of change and our remaining culture not be lost to succeeding generations? These questions bring others to mind. Are our personal goals in harmony with the tribal goals? To what purposes should we dedicate our efforts and our lives? What are our personal priorities, and how well does our life's work reflect these priorities? Most of us will recognize in a period of serious reflection that the "important things" in our lives are often deferred with some self-assuring but self-deceiving assumption that there will always be time "tomorrow".

It is this procrastination - this lack of motivation - which produces a subtle but corrosive tension within us as our conscience promotes one commitment while our activities express another. At times this dilemma reflects itself in a distorted conception of responsibility, at times an impulsive response to the demands of others, but most often it is the outcome of unthinking behavior, the consequence of a general failure to consider goals, priorities, and plans for reaching them. I have heard it said among thoughtful Indians that "lack of initiative is our genius". Such a statement ignores our responsibility not only to ourselves but to the society in which we live. In its extreme forms, it is easy to find examples of those who will assume no more responsibility for anything than is absolutely necessary; certainly the fragmentation of our own contemporary culture encourages us to restrict our efforts to smaller and smaller sections of our community.

A more difficult but more effective concept of responsibility is an acknowledgement of the importance of continuing to be concerned about problems and dilemmas, neither turning away in frustration nor hurling one's self forward into them under the pressure of guilt. Continuing to think about, and take part in the solution of, problems of delinquency and school drop-outs in one's tribe or community, the need for better school programs, and the hundreds of other things for which responsible concern is needed is a way of remaining open to alternatives and opportunities, and being ready to respond when the occasion permits. We, as Indians, are now in a cycle which does and will permit action to improve our lot and the future for our children. However, it may not always be so.

In more personal terms, the concept of balanced responsibility implies a willingness to accept the responsibility for one's own attitudes, feelings, failures, and prejudices, forsaking the easier and unfortunately more frequent tendency to project or displace these feelings and attitudes onto persons or forces external to one's self - the white dominant society.

After deliberate consideration of these questions and concerns, it becomes necessary to now define our ideal - for ourselves and for the type of school we desire to communicate our expectations to our children. As Werner Jaeger put it in "Paideia", education is the deliberate attempt to form men in terms of an ideal. The Indian ideal should incorporate as part of the aim of the school to form our young people into independent, self-governing members of a self-governing community. The curriculum should include material which will teach the following skills:

- Intellectual skills - the teaching should center on strategies for learning, especially how to use the many available information resources related to our complex social environment.
- Occupational skills - every 18-year old should be prepared for some occupation, whether they continue in school or not. The concept of full-time education to some age or grade level, followed by full-time work, should be examined and probably replaced by a program combining the two beginning at about age 12 and running through adulthood.
- Decision-making skills - techniques of how to make decisions in complex situations where the consequences follow from the decisions. Many new automated "games" have been devised to reveal the entire process of decision making - consequences in complex environments such as economic development, community planning, etc.
- Bureaucratic and organizational skills - the techniques to cope with a bureaucratic organization, as an employee, client, tribal leader, or entrepreneur.
- Verbal communication skills - both written and oral skills are vital to be successful in the democratic processes of debate and discussion or the objective pursuit of confrontation.

A curriculum is simply a way of saving lost motion in learning. It represents an attempt to profit by the more obvious mistakes of the past and to make it unnecessary for a student to commit them all over again. No one supports a curriculum that has no meaning. But we must be careful to avoid the attractive curriculum trap, the ad hoc, that which may be immediately interesting to our students and/or parents, but which is transitory, or that which is thought to have some practical value under the circumstances of the time, but which is likely to be valueless if the circumstances change.

Controversy over goals for Indian education becomes evident in the area of curriculum. Inhumane, forced assimilationist practices are largely a thing of the past, but controversy still remains. Some Indian leaders would like to see the schools emphasize traditional Indian life. Others see the school's role as teaching the Euro-American culture. The growing emphasis among tribal leaders and Indian educators alike is the goal of developing a curricula that are pluralistic in nature - retaining respect for the various Indian traditions and identity while teaching the necessary skills for life in the urban, industrial dominant society as well as on the reservations, where new economic and political developments are occurring.

The complexity of the curricula problems is indicated by the fact that today's students, for the most part, have little or no skill in English at the time they enter school. There are nearly 300 Indian languages in use today. Most Indians agree that schools must teach English. But it must be taught as a second language, rather than relying on exposure to accomplish the task. The first two or three years in school should be conducted in the student's native language. Minimum or no attention is given to the Indian heritage, or to contemporary issues in Indian life. On the whole, concern for the pedagogical complexities of bicultural education has been neglected by Indian educators despite their clear, direct relationship to school success or failure. This condition cannot be permitted to continue.

There is a need in the education curriculum for Indians for tribal history, tribal-Federal government relationships, and tribal institutions. Indian studies programs must address that indefinable area whereby our youth are able to sustain themselves as students and enhance their knowledge of themselves as Indians.

The "communication skills" of reading, writing, speaking, analysis, and listening appear to have permanent relevance to any educational curriculum. These abilities are important to individuals or groups in any society at any time. They are more important in a democratic society where citizens must understand one another. In a post-industrial society such as we have today in the United States, these skills are universally valuable; they are the only training a school can offer that can contribute to vocational success. They are the indispensable means to learning anything throughout life. They must be learned if an individual or group hopes to expand their individuality or if they desire to become a self-governing part of a self-governing community. Learning these skills cannot be left to the choices of Indian students - or their parents. Learning these skills is not a simple matter, or one that seems obviously desirable to all students, and it will not be fun all the time. But it will bring about the growth of knowledge, the advancement of understanding, the enlargement of human life, and ultimately the emancipation of the Indian - with his values intact. The pressure on any curriculum is always to be "related to life". The necessity of gaining public support for the curriculum often suggests the need for making that relationship obvious and direct. This often tempts one to conclude that an out-and-out vocational training program is "best". But technical skills of a trade can be rapidly acquired on the job. And students trained only in technical

skills will be stuck with them and will have no way to get out of their rut if technology changes the need for their skill or if society changes. This is not to say that the acquisition of vocational skills is undesirable - just the opposite is true, but not to the exclusion of "communication skills".

Vocational training has most often been used to accomodate those who could not legally leave school but who did not do well in the regular curriculum. Many, if not most, Indian students were placed in this category. It amounts to saying that they are to be educated to the station to which they were born. It is an abandonment of the school's responsibility to try to draw out their common humanity or to prepare them for participation in the broader community. These students would have been better off if they had been allowed to drop out of school and go to work, because they would have been trained on the job and not deluded into thinking the school had prepared them for the world of work. If any technological change at all is going on, given the time requirements of the educational process, the training for industry in schools must be in some degree obsolete. In a period like the present, every young man must expect to follow three or more careers during his working life, making training in a specific vocation farcical.

Since individual goals are often not in concert with tribal goals, the youth from about age 12 should also be encouraged to carry out responsible activities in service to the tribal community or even the larger community of state or country. The intent of such a school-community orientation would be to make responsible, productive adults who can lead in a task or be a good follower, who are able to live with the consequences of their actions. Such socialization requires deemphasis of the narcissistic goal of self-improvement, and emphasis of joint constructive activities. The process would reintegrate education and the institutions of tribal society - two parts of the Indian way of life that have become more and more separate.

Teachers often ask the question, "What motivates an Indian student?" The answer is the same as for any student: The desire for self acceptance, acceptance by others, and self fulfillment within <u>his</u> value system. The important differences between any groups of people as regards motivation are their value systems. The Blacks, Chicanos, Whites, and Indians as a group have different value systems. In fact there are many differences within these larger groups. However, across all these cultures, you find the basic desire for self acceptance, acceptance by others, and self fulfillment. In short,

an Indian student is motivated by the same, human goal that everyone has, but this goal is achieved in acts that are important to him; it is achieved in the practice of his values. Thus it becomes imperative that an effective teacher of Indian students understand Indian values.

AN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM FOR THE RESERVATION

It may at first appear that the subject of economic programming is misplaced in a discussion of education; but without economic development on reservations, the motivation for education diminishes significantly in the eyes of Indian students.

Reservation poverty has not acquired the political urgency in the United States because of the poor visibility and lack of mass political power. Unlike their urban counterparts, the rural poor in general, and the reservations in particular, are left to fend for themselves. The reservations have many of the same problems as the ghettos. The common problems are lack of skills, lack of capital, and the lack of connections with established groups in the white dominant economy.

The civil rights movement floundered not only on the limited success of legislating against prejudice, but also on the economic disparities between the communities it attempted to help. A tribal community lacking skills and capital finds itself still impoverished even though it acquires the legal right to participate fully in all opportunities available to other sectors of our society.

Reservations contain relatively few jobs in relation to the size of their resident working population. Business activity is largely confined to providing retail trade and personal services to local residents. Very little is produced for export. The reservation lives by supplying labor rather than goods to the outside society. About 80 percent of retail trade and service firms are owned by whites, which means that they are mostly absentee-owned and that whatever profits they yield flow out of the community.

The census of 1970 revealed that over two-thirds of reservation families fell below the $3,200 poverty line. Poverty on the reservation results from a combination of unemployment, underemployment, low skills, and wages depressed by job discrimination. It appears from Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that however anyone analyzes the unemployment figures, the rate for reservation families runs at least three times the national average. Although a part of this differential is the result of discrimination, it is also apparent that lack of occupational skills is a serious problem.

A strategy to improve the economic status of reservation families must concentrate on job-creation within the reservation area.

The case <u>against</u> attempting to create more jobs on the reservations is based on considerations of locational inefficiency. It is argued, for example, that

reservations do not have the necessary infrastructure to support industrial development, that they are too far from the consumer markets, that the necessary skills are unavailable. This line of argument leads to the conclusion that Indians should be encouraged to migrate to where the jobs are and leave their culture. Politically a program leading to the dispersal of the Indian community is not likely to find favor with the emergent Indian leadership which rightly feels that a concentrated group can exercise greater power than a widely dispersed group. Socially, a program that concentrates on job creation outside the reservation would inevitably siphon off the most able and motivated members of the tribe, leaving those who remain more discouraged than ever.

Economically, such an exogenous program would neglect the real opportunities for Indian progress which exist on the reservation itself. Such opportunities are of three kinds: existing white businesses could be taken over by Indian entrepreneurs or tribal cooperatives; outside firms could be encouraged to open branches or affiliates within the reservation community; and existing Indian businesses could be expanded or new firms created to utilize the natural advantages of the reservation.

The replacement of "foreign" shopkeepers and other small businessmen with local entrepreneurs would create real psychic income. Such an action would open possibilities of advancement: the Indian who now can only be a clerk could look forward to becoming a manager or owner. Technically, such an action is easy to carry out; given the necessary capital it is much easier to take over an existing concern than to start a new one. Since many white owners are anxious to move their businesses, it should be relatively easy to find willing sellers.

The second alternative is in many respects the opposite of the first. It is to encourage outside white-owned firms to open branches or subsidiaries on the reservation with the intention of employing Indians. Many Indian leaders reject such a policy as just another form of colonialism. They object that Indian-created profits will flow out of the community into white coffers. It is possible, however, that these objections could be overcome if white firms were to start subsidiaries rather than branches, with the proviso that management and ownership of the subsidiaries would be gradually transferred to the tribe. Under this plan, the subsidiaries would become wholly independent operations.

Most promising is the third alternative of upgrading existing Indian businesses and creating new ones. The kind of business most likely to succeed depends on the local tribal circumstances, hence no general statements as to the types of

businesses most likely to succeed are applicable. However, an analysis of the efforts undertaken in Isreal to accomplish its economic development would be most beneficial. The same type of rural environment exists or existed in both cases.

The effects of the three policies for stimulating reservation economies described above can be briefly summarized. A policy of assisting Indians in taking over white retail businesses would increase Indian entrepreneurial income and control of local resources, but would open few jobs for Indians. A policy of bringing in white-owned subsidiaries would create new jobs for Indians on the reservation, but without formal arrangements for transfer of ownership, would not increase Indian entrepreneurial income or control over the local economy. Finally, a policy of creating new Indian firms or expanding existing ones would both open up new jobs and increase Indian profits in addition to providing valuable business experience.

It remains to explain why creating new jobs or new businesses on the reservation has advantages for residents of the reservation which would not accrue if similar jobs or businesses were developed for Indians off the reservations. The reasons can be classified into four groups under the headings of multiplier effects, external economies of agglomeration, demonstration effects, and leadership effects.

Multiplier effects - Every business activity has linkages to others. Some of these involve spending money within the reservation for supporting services. Consequently, if a business expands on the reservation, it increases demand for the output of reservation-based supporting firms. A substantial portion of these supporting firms could be owned by and employ reservation residents. Thus the initial expansion of one firm generates further rounds of local-income and employment growth, which would not occur on that reservation if the firm expanded off the reservation. In similar fashion, employees spend part of their income near their place of work, so that creating additional jobs on the reservation also creates expansion not possible when residents leave the reservation for employment. The typical multiplier effect is 2.2 for each primary job.

External economies of agglomeration - Such external economies occur at the local level both for producers who favor areas that can provide a full line of supporting services, and for consumers who are attracted to a retail center that offers a large selection. The economics of agglomeration is such that the more activity a reservation has, the more it can attract.

Demonstration effects - The demonstration of success encourages other members of the reservation to emulate the pattern of success, and success within the reservation is much more visible to tribal members than success outside. This is particularly true in relation to Indian students.

Leadership effects - It has been long recognized that underdeveloped regions consistently lose their better talent to the more developed surrounding areas. This analogy is true between the reservation and the white economy. Even if a person continues to live on the reservation, his outside employment leads him to expend much of his social energy off the reservation. The social and political contributions to the tribe are likely to be much greater if a person works on the reservation.

An economic development of indigenous enterprise on the reservations is most desirable, yet a tribal group, short on skills and capital, and lacking a business tradition, find it extremely difficult to get started. How then can development take place?

Whether one looks at private or public-assistance programs, two things appear to be lacking: adequate funds and coordination through a single, technically competent institution. In short, no workable arrangement has been found for bringing together capital, information, and talent for the job.

An institutional model for the task at hand may be the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). The IBRD puts up no equity capital, but it makes loans to underdeveloped countries on what might be called bankable projects. The IBRD associated groups, the International Finance Corporation and the International Development Authority, provide equity for development undertakings and long-term loans for projects that are worthy but cannot qualify for IBRD loans.

The commercial banking system fulfills for the reservation a function similar to that of the IBRD; it takes care of the bankable loans. However, commercial banks cannot legally provide equity funds or long-term loans. An ongoing institution is needed that will be to the commercial banking system what IFC and IDA are to the IBRD.

The advantages of such an institution would be numerous: It would not be subject to annual appropriations or sudden death; it could attract a top-quality staff; it could provide expert technical and managerial assistance as well as capital; and it could serve as a one-stop office to provide information about all Federal, state, and local subsidies available to tribes for economic development.

Finally, it should be possible to set up the organization in such a way that it could act as a channel for private as well as public funds for reservation development. Thus both the private business investor and the charitable foundation would have at hand a technically competent organization for putting their funds to work. There would be an enormous gain through the elimination of overlapping staff and better use of knowledge and experience.

In American society, income is distributed to individuals and groups in proportion to their economically desirable skills, their ownership of resources, and their access to power and privilege. Indians are short on all three. But this proposal could provide access to financial resources, the tribal leaders are gaining insight into obtaining greater power for our people, and finally we as individuals must acquire those economically desirable skills. We must recognize, however, that these desirable skills are not restricted to manual skills.

SUMMARY

To summarize the near-term efforts necessary to enhance the educational process for Indian students on a priority basis, the tasks, their purpose, anticipated results, and implementation processes are outlined below:

I. Revision of Indian teacher training programs.

A. Introduction of group dynamics training.

1. Purpose: To enable teachers to work with pupils at generating relevant curriculum based upon cultural awareness and knowledge of the community. To reduce teacher prejudices. The prejudices that each person has are learned; and, what he learns is set by the social framework of his life. Prejudices on the part of both student and teacher must be negated. The prejudiced teacher, because of his prejudice, does not get to know the Indian children intimately in an equal-status relation. His prejudices combine with social custom to prevent him from having the types of experiences with Indians which would destroy this prejudice. The main source of information about Native Americans comes to be the "experiences", beliefs, and feelings of other prejudiced members of the teacher's own group. As a consequence, contact with only the prevailing attitude among one's own group provides the "experience" to support a prejudice.

2. Anticipated results:

a. Increased sense of self worth and group identity as Indian students share their own experiences, and explore the experiences of their elders.

b. Teacher becomes role model because he or she participates in their culture as well as providing alternative behavior in own life style.

c. Utilization of community people as resources reduces barrier between school and Indian group.

d. Alienation lessened when children develop pride in their own culture background, and when parental involvement in the education process legitimatizes the school.

e. Participation encouraged when language barriers are no longer a symbol of lower status of the Indian, but rather another source of individual difference.

f. Examination of differences between historical culture and present day manifestations of that culture permits expanded alternatives, thus reducing frustration and increases sense of control over own destiny.

3. Implementation:

a. Use of one leader to 20 teachers conducting twice weekly sessions on group process techniques during the practice teaching, or internship period.

b. Extensive use of demonstration teaching to acquaint teacher trainees with the resources and materials available throughout the community for creation of a curriculum through a group process.

B. Teaching English as a second language.

1. Purpose: To allow Indian children to learn basic skills with their best language tool (the tribal language) while becoming proficient in the English language.

2. Anticipated results:

a. Teaching of the basic subjects in grades K-3 in the Native American's first language, avoiding the burden of learning a new skill with a strange language.

b. A heightened respect on the part of teacher and student for the Indian language and culture.

c. Lessening of the psychological shock in introducing the Indian child to the dominant non-Indian culture.

d. Curriculum materials more closely attuned to the child's personal experiences and values.

e. Gradual proficiency in English on the part of Indian children through its introduction as a "foreign" language.

3. Implementation:

a. Training of Indian teacher candidates with high school certificate for one year in basic skills and classroom techniques.

b. Entry of Indians with one-year training into the classroom as paraprofessional, with responsibility for teaching basic skills to Indian children in grades K-3 in Indian language - with continued combined training and teaching until teacher certification is reached.

c. Specialized training of non-Indian teacher, including workshop participation throughout in an Indian school. Special emphasis on teaching English as a second language.

d. First year teaching experience for non-Indian as a paraprofessional working with an experienced, capable teacher - preferably Indian.

II. Development of community school concept, through parent participation in the classroom.

A. Purpose: To bring school and community closer together through involvement of Indian parents in classroom activities.

B. Anticipated results:

1. Over three year period, to reach goal of one involved Indian parent per 15 Indian children.
2. Active role model for Indian children will be provided by parent in the classroom.
3. New avenues of communication between parents and teachers will be available - providing opportunity for parents to observe and influence school activities, and an opportunity for school administrators to inform parents of classroom goals.
4. Frequent visits to Indian homes by Indian parent participant in the classroom, to expand lines of communication.
5. More individualized attention for students.
6. Increased guidance and counselling available to students.
7. Adult bilingual capacity in classrooms with white teachers.

C. Implementation:

1. Selection of a tribal committee to:
   a. Determine objectives of parent classroom participation - including what problems might be solved by such activities and the general function of the Indian parent in the classroom.
   b. Establish pay schedules, transportation and day care arrangements, training programs, career development mechanism to give participating parents basic necessary skills as well as an avenue toward eventual certification.
   c. Recruit and select parent participants.
2. Six week summer orientation sessions for teachers and parent participants in teams, led by educators and tribal leaders - toward the end of sensitizing all who will be involved to the learning and emotional needs of the children and each other.

3. Actual operation of the program, with half-day classroom aid and half-day training through local tribal, governmental and academic trainers.
4. Workshops and analysis sessions involving teams of teachers and parent participants continued throughout the school year.